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Things progressives can do during the Bush years

1. Get an agenda: One of the reasons that George Bush was able to def.ne liberalism his way was because liberals hadn't done it first. In recent years political progressives have made no serious attempt to sit down and decide upon an agenda. If progressives can't state clearly what they believe in, who can blame the public for being confused? There is a need for a progressive platform, preferably one that can be written on one side of a sheet of paper.

Since the sixties there has been a tremendous splintering of progressives into groups specializing in a single issue or a cluster of single issues. This has produced a high level of expertise on these issues, raised the national consciousness on many of them, and provided a cadre capable of writing and criticizing legislation. The bad side-effect has been that progressives have forgotten how to work in coalition with one another and seem incapable of providing a holistic vision of that for which they are striving. Like G. K. Chesterton's description of liberals, they can't lead; they won't follow and they refuse to cooperate.

An annual conference at which progressive organizations came up with, say, a 12-item agenda would let someone other than the right define what it is that we are about..

2. Don't be afraid of popular issues: One of the striking differences between old-style liberals and new-style progressives is that the former had a knack of finding popular issues. With a few exceptions, such as environmental issues, contemporary progressives feel almost guilty if they get involved in anything that will take less than years of activism to win general support. This is not to say that unpopular causes should be avoided, but simply to suggest that it is okay to leaven the difficult and the controversial with things people want. If we had done so over the past few years, we would be hearing today much more about national health care and less about abortion, more about housing and less about gun control, and more about leveraged buy-outs and less about furlough programs. The game is not only to win the national debate but to determine what the national debate is about.

3. Describe a future worth fighting for: Optimism is deeply ingrained in American culture. Progressives are in a tough spot in this regard, because they tend to bring America the bad news. And America, in the classic tradition, kills them for it. We need a lot more skill in motivating people to correct what's wrong without simultaneously casting a pall over their vision of the future. Progressives should not surrender optimism to the reactionaries. Thomas Jefferson said, "My theory has always been that if we are to dream, the flatteries of hope are as cheap, and pleasanter than the gloom of despair." And it was the Democrats, after all, in the runaway election year of 1936, who labelled Republicans as "disciples of despair" floundering in a "fountain of fear." Roosevelt himself got considerable mileage by the unsupported assertion that we had nothing to fear but fear itself. More recently, one of the characteristics of the sixties was its vibrant, if unrealistic, vision of the future. It wasn't just the demonstrations that changed things; it was the dream of an Age of Aquarius.

4. Go for redemption before recrimination: Andy Young went to South Africa back in the seventies and was roundly criticized for it. In response, he recalled what Martin Luther King had said about segregationists in the south: you had to

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work on the assumption that one day you would be friends with the people against whom you were fighting. The south is a much healthier place today because King believed in redemption in politics as well as religion. Progressives have to fight so hard to win that they sometimes forget that their antagonists are, in the end, just wrong, a universal, if disappointing, human trait. Thinking of those opposed to us as potential converts rather than certain enemies may increase the former and lessen the latter.

5. Speak United States: This dictum was delivered by my high school math teacher, Herman Breuniger, whenever we would offer a garbled or jargon-ridden comment. I think of it often in this city where so many, including progressives, speak in the artificial tongues of governmentese, poli-gabble and media slang. The people we are trying to convince speak United States; it helps to talk the same language.

6. Think symbolically: Progressives are too rational for their own good. They are living in an age in which symbolism rules the world and they keep spewing out data instead of dreams. Michael Dukakis ran through his supply of images with his dilapidated snow blower and the public soon lost interest. Politics at its best has always contained a healthy helping of theater, but many progressives seem determined to leave show business to the reactionaries. No wonder so many progressive acts close on opening night.

7. Don't fight your own kind: The progressive movement is one of the few organisms that feeds on its own parts. The left has a long tradition of acting as though it believed a day without schisms was like a day without sunshine. In fact, progressives have enough problems from reactionaries, conservatives and extremist moderates without fighting amongst themselves as well.

8. Don't be too pure: It's okay to be a saint but don't expect many others to follow you into self-deprivation, moral perfection, supererogation or martyrdom. A handful of Ralph Naders and Mitch Snyders is all the movement needs. Be happy if someone votes the right way, writes the letter you want or shows up for the meeting. And if you find some anti-abortionists who are against our policy in Central America, don't knock them; give them a committee. Progressives need a constituency not disciples. Besides, most people aren't as interested in this stuff as you are. They're like Oscar Wilde, who said he could never become a socialist because he liked to keep his evenings free.

9. Be frugal: Both liberals and conservatives spend too much money on the wrong things -- when they are in office. But the liberals get 99% of the rap. Here is another case of the left stipulating a conservative definition. Frugality, at the moment, is an untouched political field. Progressives need to shuck the assumption that spending money *in the name of something* is the same as spending money *for something*. Billions are spent in Washington in the name of good causes; considerably less actually serves those causes. A number of states have dealt with this problem as it applies to charities, placing a limit on the bureaucratic overhead a non-profit can have and still claim tax-exemption. Progressives should seek a similar standard for government. It could cause a recession in Washington but would easily mean more money for housing, health, farmers and so forth. Few things would change the popular impression of progressives more than if they would begin to concern themselves with the efficient use of the taxpayers' dollars.

10. Think small: The large federal government has done wonderful things for America, but it doesn't follow that it gets better as it gets bigger, or that there aren't other ways to do wonderful things. Progressives need to shed their preoccupation with the federal government. They need to ease the Democratic party away from over-dependence on the big city Democratic machines and huge corporations that keep the party creaking along. Progressives should encourage decentralization of the federal government, should seek to empower neighborhoods, smaller towns and communities; and find ways of bringing small business into the progressive fold. These are important constituencies that neither Democrats nor Republicans have vigorously sought as yet. .

11. Think Green: The green movement is the most important new political philosophy since the advent of the social welfare state. The green principles of democracy, social responsibility, ecological wisdom, decentralization, peace and human decency are already having an indirect effect on people as distant as George Bush, who keeps insisting he's going to be not only kinder and gentler but an environmentalist to boot. He didn't dream this up; his marketing office told him that's what America wants. Strangely, the green gestalt has made minimal headway among many traditional progressives who continue to see politics as a continuation of the New Deal/Frontier or the Great Society. The philosophical paradigm of the world is undergoing a massive change and the Greens are the first to integrate this change into a philosophy that makes profound sense. A progressive movement that is going to make a difference is going to be also a green movement.

12. Rescue patriotism: Many of the most familiar symbols of patriotism have been seized by the right. But the substance of patriotism, interestingly, is largely downplayed or ignored. The republic, for example, comes in second to the flag in the pledge of allegiance. The left prefers not to discuss the subject at all and, as a result, tends to encourage intimations of crypto-sedition.

There are, however, ways of discussing and symbolizing love of country without the hypocrisy and cant

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of an American right that practices the cynical wisdom of Hermann Goering: "The people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders... All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism."

Years ago, Woodrow Wilson, speaking to a group of newly Americanized citizens, said that they were pledging allegiance not to a particular set of laws, not to a flag, not to one administration or even to the American government in general. They were pledging allegiance to a set of ideals that are particularly American.

One of the most frightening things about modern America is the degree to which these ideals have become forgotten. The recent attacks on the ACLU are a grim example. When you follow the logic of the assault, you discover it has not really been an attack on the ACLU but on the US Constitution itself, for the positions the ACLU defends are only meaningful if judges agree with the organization's interpretation of that document. The ACLU-bashing suggests a dismal understanding of what being an American is really about. But you would never know it when someone like Dukakis rises to defend himself on the issue.

Similarly, progressives tend to ignore the wealth of American history that could provide anecdotal, symbolic and substantive support for their positions. In the warehouse of the American past lies a vast array of tools for the contemporary activist, largely unused. This is, I suspect, in part due to a rejection of history because of the wrongs that occurred during it, but the creative calling upon the past is an extremely effective way of reminding people that one is very much in the American tradition. One of best speeches of the last campaign was delivered by Mario Cuomo in Texas. He gave a five minute history of Texas neatly edited to support his own vision of the future, easing the transition for his audience from what they already knew to what he hoped they would learn.

Finally, progressives can meet the flag-wavers with their own symbolism. The progressive symbol of love of country could be the land itself. We should use photographs and graphics that suggest the physical magnificence of America and we could adopt such songs as *America the Beautiful* and *This Land Is Your Land* as the patriotic songs of the progressive movement.

Far more than the flag, the land itself is the primal symbol of America and at a time when we need to save that land from rampant destruction, using that symbol would remind people of that need, and by extension, of a similar need throughout the world..

13. Be serious, not solemn: Russell Baker once pointed out that Americans had forgotten the difference between being solemn and being serious. Many progressives suffer from this confusion. Remember that Emma Goldman, a serious radical, once said, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be in your revolution." And even the very serious Martin Luther said much the same thing about heaven -- if they wouldn't allow him to laugh. -- *Sam Smith*

Own Man, Once Removed

I can be my own man, but in being my own man I am going to implement the policies of George Bush.-- *J. Danforth Quayle*

The health care debacle

Twice since World War II -- first with the Hill-Burton Action, then with Medicare and Medicaid, the United States has poured billions into health services with surprisingly little to show for its efforts. Although we spend twice as much per person on health care as the average of 21 other developed countries, we do not have a demonstrably better health care system. What we do have is the extraordinary prospect of health care eating up 15 percent of the gross national product by the year 2000, according to the Health Care Financing Administration.

In part, these post-war efforts were motivated by a desire to increase care while avoiding a national health system. What it has
produced is marginal improvements at incredible costs. To give but one not too small example, it has been estimated that about $400 of the cost of the car one buys is to pay for health insurance for the auto workers.

Now we stand on the cusp of another incremental yet expensive leap in health care. Numerous bills are pending and pressure is growing to do something. By the middle of last year, there were 280 pieces of congressional legislation introduced dealing with maternal and child health care alone.

Although politicians, the media and many special interest groups are happy with this crazy-quilt approach and the huge costs it creates, there are a few voices urging a fundamental change in the way we handle health services, demanding instead a national health system.

One of these voices is Alvin L. Schorr, a professor at Case Western Reserve University and author of *Common Decency: Domestic Policies After Reagan*. In a lecture at the University of New Hampshire last fall, Schorr outlined a number of reasons to favor a whole new system over a continuation of the incremental approach:

- The American market system "has never simultaneously delivered good health care at reasonable cost and more or less equitably." Said Schorr:

> ... We have long had a market economy in health care, in which lately the government has been a powerful player -- but only one player. Practitioners, hospitals, insurance companies, the pharmaceutical industry, and corporate medicine are other players. Incremental improvements that are launched may be sidelined and allowed to wither away (as the National Health Service Corps and Neighborhood Health centers are being allowed to do); or they may be allowed to grow but without effective health service delivery (family medicine, for example); or, especially if really substantial improvements, may be transformed and caught up in market processes (programs to

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What a National Health System Might Look Like

Writing in the spring issue of *Physician's Forum,* Jerome Liebman, professor of pediatrics at Case Western Reserve University, outlined a vision of what a national health care system might look like. Liebman suggests a network of 150 health centers, each serving 2 million people. Most of these centers would have a medical school and/or other health worker training institution. Each regional center would be ringed by approximately ten community hospitals, which in turn would have about ten primary care units.

Liebman notes that under such a system, doctors and other health care workers, even those in remote areas, would all be part of an advanced medical center complex. Patients could choose their own personal physician, but the physician would have access to other levels of service by computer or other electronic means, or by transporting the patient physically. Liebman also suggests that "computer based libraries could also be available to the rural-based health worker.

Writes Liebman: "If the patient needs to go the secondary center [community hospital] for tests or examination, or to the tertiary care center [major medical center], that patient would get there by virtue of a national transportation network. Therefore, a lumberman from Idaho or a poor dirt farmer from Mississippi could be taken where he needs to be as readily as would a wealthy businessman from New York City."

Under Liebman's proposal, patient care, research and teaching would be integrated. Specialized care units (for, say, liver transplants or complex heart surgery) would be located on the basis of need and efficiency, eliminating current costly competition, duplication and marketing efforts.

With academic facilities providing free education within geographical reach of their students, Liebman believes there would be a greater chance that graduates would end up working in their home communities, thus helping to even out the distribution of health care.

Liebman would have the system controlled by a mixture of health workers, administrators and consumers. Says Liebman: "Since there is only one payment system, the paperwork mess would have to be much less. And, frankly, it is likely that the physician would have *more* control of his patients in this system than what we have to today."

increase medical personnel, Medicaid, HMOs). Moreover, the increments that the market uses become essential to it, so that altering them when we see their problems presents political problems equivalent to wiping out sectors of the defense industry.

• Means-testing, upon which much current health service programs are based, tends to turn out badly. Among other things, the poor lack the political clout to insure that programs for them are handled fairly and decently. For example, ten years ago, 65 percent of the poor were covered by Medicaid, today only 28 percent are. Means-tested programs, says Schorr, "will serve the poor better than nothing at all, to be sure, but will serve them poorly and even so will be at risk from year to year."

• A number of factors have changed the political climate of health care, opening up the opportunity to fundamental change. Among these are the fact that doctors are finding that while they have been able to resist governmental control, they are not doing so well with corporate and bureaucratic control. Medical corporations and insurance companies have taken over where the government gave up and doctors are finding that they are, despite themselves, part of a huge bureaucratic system.

From the patients' point of view, "the indecipherable paper flow related to insurance coverage and payments, the hype for supplementary insurance that consumer groups, in turn, warn against, and being sent to unfamiliar physicians and inconvenient hospitals, all combine to produce a voter reaction."

Further, Schorr points out, "It is occurring to large employers that a national program would free them of considerable expenses for health care and make them more competitive."

Schorr favors a system with universal coverage and unitary budgeting and planning. Questions of service and equity aside, the costs of doing anything else make it an appealing alternative. And lest you feel too nostalgic about the present system, remember that nobody asked for it; it just grew. As Schorr says, "No one -- not organized medicine, not providers, not the government, and not consumer groups -- sought the system of health care that at any recent stage we have had."

Eleanor Smeal, president of the Fund for the Feminist Majority, notes that with a net gain of only two women and one black to the Congress as a result of November's elections, it will take only the year 2333 for minorities to achieve equality with men in Congress. Says Smeal, "The outlook is not much better on the state level where there was only a net gain of 2 women elected to statewide office."

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An alternative future for the European Community

Thomas S. Martin

One of the most significant and innovative experiments in the history of world politics is now under way in western Europe. The European Economic Community had its beginnings nearly forty years ago in an agreement to share coal and steel resources. It has progressed steadily ever since toward what some hope will be a United States of Europe. The word "Economic" is now commonly deleted from the name, and in 1987 the adoption of the Single European Act brought the EC a step closer to political union by abolishing the state veto. The European Parliament at Strasbourg now has at least some powers that might be termed sovereign. More recently, the twelve member states agreed to dismantle all internal economic barriers by 1992 to allow for the untrammeled movement of people, goods and capital throughout the Community. A common currency is under development and the EC now issues its own passports. All signs appear to point toward a united Europe, probably before the end of the century. Some analysts predict the emergence of a fourth superpower -- the Community has more people than either the United States or the Soviet Union, and an economic base with a potential greater than Japan's or China's. But the analysts are wrong. No doubt the economic integration of the continent will succeed, with results that will profoundly after the world order. But there will be no sovereign United States of Europe.

The entity that is now emerging in western Europe has no real parallel in world history, and it would be a serious error to categorize it as a proto-nation. The Community has been compared to the Holy Roman Empire and to the Greek *amphictyonies,* but the resemblance is superficial and anachronistic. The concept of sovereignty as it is now understood, involving authority over all aspects of national life, will never apply to Europe. In some ways the Community is the natural end product of western capitalism: the economic structure of the region has taken on a life of its own, and is breaking free of outmoded political and diplomatic fetters. This is one reason the Kremlin is worried about a united Europe: they fear a right-libertarian capitalist colossus, an Ayn Rand nightmare that will entice their Comecon allies out of the Soviet orbit and threaten the weary revolution. For similar reasons the American right applauds the idea of European unity. But a closer look at the situation is more reassuring to those who still hope for a decentralized, human-scale world.

The European Community formally recognizes some of the problems it faces, but ignores the fundamental issues. For example, the north-south economic dichotomy is often debated at Strasbourg. Wealthy, industrial nations like Belgium, Britain and West Germany are concerned that they will have to subsidize Greece, Spain and other poor countries, while cheap labor from the Mediterranean floods the northern factories. The levelling effect of economic union will bring prosperity to the south, perhaps, but will also drain capital out of the north. The boosters of the Community claim that everyone will benefit, that the removal of economic barriers will stimulate growth and produce the highest standard of living and per capita income in the world. The issue is genuine and the debate is fierce, but it misses the point. The economic union, whatever its benefits or drawbacks, will in fact generate a centrifugal effect on European politics. Signs of this tendency have been evident from the beginning though pro-union politicians dismiss them as picayune. For example, many Britons fear the abolition of their strict animal quarantine, which has kept rabies out of Britain for decades. German brewers are resisting pressures to abandon their additive-free recipes, based on standards of purity that date back to the Middle Ages. These apparently minor issues are the tip of an iceberg. Remember that the map of Europe, though small in area, is an ethnic crazy-quilt; it has remained so through many centuries of war and upheaval, and the EEC is not likely to produce a sudden homogenization.

The twelve member states of the EEC are the product of historical and dynastic forces dating back almost a millennium. Many of them contain, within their artificial borders, ethnic "nations" which have never entirely accepted their loss of independence. In the past few decades governments that do not represent these peoples have been moving toward European unity, in the pursuit of economic and geopolitical power. The notion of world empire was born in Europe, and old dreams die hard. But the smaller dependent nations have not been consulted about this process, and separatist movements have flourished alongside the centripetal pressures that focus on the EEC. Proponents of economic integration predict that the free movement of people will break up ethnic enclaves and encourage some sort of bland European cultural identity. The opposite is more likely to happen. Ethnic groups and subgroups will feel threatened by easy mobility and the presence of 'foreigners' in their midst. They will strive harder to preserve their singularity, and demands for automony will redouble. This is already happening among the Basques, the Catalans and the peoples of the Celtic fringe. As the Single European Act takes effect other groups -- perhaps the Flemings and Walloons, the Frisians, the Lapps, even the Bavarians or Provencals -- will rediscover their long-submerged national characters. The next decade may witness an interesting paradox: a western Europe united economically, fragmented politically.

Let's take a closer look at the situation. The United Kingdom includes Wales and Scotland, two proud and vital cultures whose independence has never really been extinguished. A decade ago they were close to achieving a measure of autonomy, but the devolution movement fell through and has been weakened by the policies of the Thatcher government. Look for a revival as Britain becomes more integrated into Europe, its sovereignty blurring around the

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edges. Ireland, the only neutral member of the EEC, is demonstrating that a small state can enjoy the benefits of economic union without selling its political soul to Strasbourg. The Bretons, usually ignored by Paris, may take a cue from their Celtic cousins across the Channel. The Flemings and Walloons, bound together only by the artificial borders of Belgium, will probably find new internal solidarity as those borders cease to have real meaning. Something similar may be expected from the Frisians or from Corsica and Sardinia. Denmark has already lost Greenland for all practical purposes. But the first of the Community members to break up will no doubt be Spain. The Catalans have a long tradition of autonomy and a unique language and culture, while the Basques may find new allies among their cousins on the other side of the Pyrenees. The recent devolution of limited local authority to these regions is only a stopgap measure.

The effects of this decentralizing trend are not limited to the EEC. The Lapps of northern Sweden and Norway are unhappy about Arctic pollution and attempts to undermine their nomadic way of life. Poland's attempts to struggle free of the Soviet yoke are not merely nationalist or ideological; the ecological damage inflicted by large-scale postwar industrialization is appalling and probably irreversible. The recent Estonian declaration of sovereignty might be the death knell of the Soviet Union, to paraphrase Thomas Jefferson. Yet if we look at the proliferation of separatist movements in the Third World, Europe resembles the calm eye of the hurricane. The tendency manifests itself in a small way even in the United States, among Indian tribes and some black nationalists.

The next decade may witness an interesting paradox: a western Europe united economically, fragmented politically.

No doubt this scenario has the ruling elites worried. Trapped in outmoded definitions of sovereignty, they cannot conceive of a world of free trade among small states (though there are historical parallels, as in Renaissance Italy). Admittedly, it is not easy to picture a "united" Europe consisting of many independent nations. During the last four decades the architects of the EEC have assumed, explicitly or implicitly, that the end result of their efforts would have to be a political union. The first generation of leaders, men like Jean Monnet, had lived through the horrors of World War II and saw a united Europe as the only barrier against a third recurrence. As ethnic separatism comes to maturity, the politicians will argue that a jigsaw puzzle of little states would lead to competition, perhaps the breakup of the Community, even war. They will point to the endless and meaningless conflicts of the Middle Ages (never mind that the dynastic and religious rivalries of the past have nothing in common with the issues of today's Europe). In response we might just as easily point to the *Zollverein*, the nineteenth-century customs union of the German duchies and kingdoms, which functioned quite nicely without limiting anyone's sovereignty. Why is it that our rulers seem unable to recognize the benefits of a different sort of union, or indeed fear the divorce of political and economic power? The answer is simple: capitalism.

The deepest error of both right libertarianism and Marxism is the standard interpretation of the *laissez-faire* theory. If government withdraws entirely from interfering in the economy, the reasoning goes, the self-regulating free market will grow and prosper until it becomes the central influence on everyone's lives. Good news to the libertarian; a nightmare to the socialist. In fact, the devolution of sovereignty to smaller ethnic states would not be tantamount to handing the world over to the capitalists. True, multinational conglomerates are today efficiently exploiting, polluting and buying up most of the First and Third Worlds, while the state capitalism of the socialist bloc is doing the same --less efficiently -- to the remainder of the planet. The usual argument is that governments have lost control over these leviathans. But capitalism survives and engorges itself only because it is protected by large and powerful states. Big government and big business form an unholy alliance, and it does not matter much who controls whom. Take one away, and the other will fall. If the political union of Europe does happen, so will the union of its capitalist economy. It is not difficult to figure out why the corporations and the media on both sides of the Atlantic favor such an outcome. But if the nations of Europe fragment and decentralize -- and especially if more neutral and socialist states are drawn into the EEC -- a more human-scale, ecologically sound and less exploitive economic structure will evolve. Such alternative economies already exist in some places and might be models for a decentralized Europe: the co-operatives of western Ireland, for example, or the Mondragon enterprise in Catalonia. The European Parliament and its bureaucracies will have to learn to make decisions by consensus, rather than by majority rule or hierarchic chain of command. Nothing else will work in a confederation of small autonomous polities. The European Community was founded, according to Jean Monnet, to seek common solutions to common problems. If its leaders remember this maxim Europe is likely to be the proving ground for a new post-capitalist, decentralized world.

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What we should say to Gorbachev

Dietrich Fischer

Mikhail Gorbachev's U.N. address, in which he announced a unilateral reduction of half a million Soviet troops and the withdrawal of half the Soviet tanks from Eastern Europe, is an astounding contribution towards a more peaceful world

The official U.S. response so far has been disappointing. President Reagan and President-elect Bush did not even listen to Gorbachev's speech before they had lunch with him, and so were in no position to discuss it with him.

Some doubted whether Gorbachev would be able to keep his promises. But he has already delivered deeds, not only words. He stopped nuclear tests unilaterally for 17 months. He paid past Soviet dues to the U.N. He has begun withdrawing troops from Afghanistan. He freed Sakharov and many other dissidents.

Many U.S. commentators said that while this was a move in the right direction, it was by far not enough. Yet Gorbachev took a political risk in making such deep unilateral cuts. If our only response is a renewed call for U.S. military strength, as Ronald Reagan did in his news conference the next day, this will lend ammunition to the hardliners in the Soviet military. If Gorbachev were to suffer Khruschev's fate and be ousted by a group of conservatives, we may deeply regret that we failed to strengthen his position by responding more positively to his peace initiatives.

Henry Kissinger commented, "When they say they are shifting from an offensive to a defensive posture, nobody really knows what that means." He argued that a tank could be used either offensively or defensively. Of course, there are gray areas of weapons which can be used either to attack or to defend. But there also exist many weapons that cannot be used to attack, e.g. anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons in fixed positions. On the other hand, bridge-building equipment is needed mainly to advance into enemy territory. Citing one weapons system to argue that no distinction between offensive and defensive arms can be made is as if someone were to say, "There is no difference between light and dark colors; take, for example, gray, it is neither light nor dark. ..."

If every country would selectively eliminate weapons systems most suitable for offensive purposes, which retaining only defensive arms, the risk of war would be greatly diminished.

Here is a lost of concrete steps that the incoming Bush administration can take to respond positively to Gorbachev's initiatives. All of these measures would increase the *common security* of both of our countries. They would also reduce the burden of military spending on both side's troubled economies.

- Join the Soviet Union in adopting a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons. Four of every five Americans mistakenly believe that this is our current policy and strongly support it. If nobody uses nuclear weapons first, they will never be used
- Withdraw one U.S. division from West Germany. About 60 percent of our annual defense budget of $300 billion is now allocated to NATO. The West Europeans are able to take greater responsibility for their defense.
- Cancel the production of new chemical weapons. We are in a poor position to lecture to the rest of the world to eliminate chemical weapons while we "modernize" our chemical arsenal.
- Stop reinterpreting treaties we have signed, such as the ABM treaty.
- Take up the Soviet offer of a joint moratorium on nuclear testing.
- Accept the Soviet proposal for a discussion of military doctrines among the nations of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, to explore what aspects of each side's force structure and battle plans cause the greatest concern on the other side.
- Pay our past dues to the U.N. They amount to less than the cost of a single B-2 bomber. If we fail to pay, the U.N. faces bankruptcy.
- Lift restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union.
- Renounce the use or threat of force as an instrument of foreign policy.

Dwight D. Eisenhower once said, "People want peace so much that one day governments better get out of their way and let them have it." Gorbachev seems to have gone even further and joined people's search for peace. But he cannot succeed without our help.

Dietrich Fischer, a member of Pace University's Peace Center, is author of Preventing War in the Nuclear Age *an co-author of* Winning Peace *(forthcoming in February).*

Field Notes

Structures for Peace Conference: Feb. 24-26, at the Sheraton-Washington Hotel. Sponsored by World Federalists Association, Sane/Freeze, Institute for Policy Studies, UN Association-USA,and many others. Some speakers are: Norman Cousins; Sarah Harder, President, American. Association. of University Women; William Sloane Coffin, Pres. Sane/Freeze; Robert Bowman; Benjamin Frenecz, author of *Planethood*; Claudine Schneider and many others.Info: Evelyn Falkowski, 418 Seventh Street S.E., 202-546-3950 or 800-428-3927. Cost is $30 per person, students with ID $5.

The Christic Institute: Christic has filed a 59-page brief of appeal with the 11th Circuit Court in Atlanta in its racketeering lawsuit against Contragate scandal figures. The brief contends that Judge James Lawrence King made multiple legal errors in his June 23 decision granting summary judgment to defendants in the case. Only four days before the trial's scheduled start, Judge King ruled

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that the Christic Institute had not proven the identity of the alleged bomber at the 1984 La Penca, Nicaragua news conference even though the defendants had already legally conceded the bomber's identity. The blast was an attempted assassination of dissident Contra leader Eden Pastora. It killed three journalists and five contra soldiers, wounding Plaintiff Tony Avirgan, Pastora, and two dozen others.

Christic also argues that Judge King also exceeded his authority in declaring that the testimony of Costa Rica's former Attorney General was not credible. Such a decision is beyond the scope of a trial judge,and is normally decided by a jury. Although only thirteen of the 29 defendants in the case requested summary judgment, the judge applied the judgment to all 29 -- including four defendants already ruled to have lost the case by default. Defendants Secord, Hakim, and Hull walked out of their scheduled depositions without sanction by Judge King. They and others refused to turn over subpoenaed documents and were not sanctioned. In effect, defendants who should have been punished for refusing to comply with the legal discovery process were rewarded with summary judgment.

"The Judge's legal errors are so numerous that we can only conclude that his decision was politically motivated," said Christic Institute General Counsel Daniel Sheehan. "We're confident that any fair hearing by the Appeals Court will restore the case to jury trial."

Shopping for a Better World: The Council on Economic Priorities has produced a wallet-sized booklet that gives you an instant review of the social conscience of America's marketers to consumers. Done in easy to scan chart-form, the guide rates companies on charitable giving, women's advancement, minority advancement, defense contracts, animal testing, disclosure of information, community outreach, nuclear power, South Africa, and environment. Small companies, most with fewer than 100 employees, are also marked. This is a smaller version of the popular *rating America's Corporate Conscience.* You can get a copy for $4.95 from CEP, 30 Irving Place, NYC NY 10003.

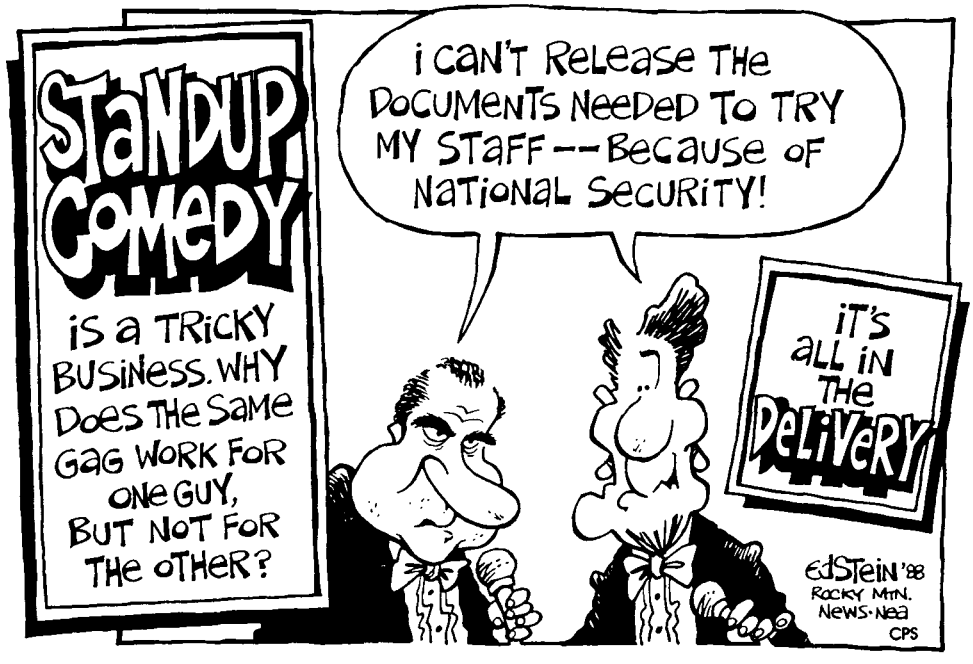
Progressive Periodicals Directory: The 1980 edition of the Progressive Periodicals Directory has just been published. It gives a detailed review of 579 periodicals recommended for reading by progressives. You can get a copy for $8 from Progressive Education, Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

Fund for the Feminist Majority: This group, headed by former NOW chair Eleanor Smeal, is pressing for the feminization of power. It is doing campus organizing and is also working on actions surrounding the Supreme Court review of *Roe v. Wade.* Info: FFM, 1600 Wilson Blvd, #1102, Arlington Va. 22209.

The Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy publishes a monthly review of the alternative media on cassette. GARC has oodles of other cassettes of a progressive bent available as well. For a five month subscription to the Alternative Media Review, send $25 to GARC, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore Md. 21218.

PBS Bias: One of the most right-wing spots on your dial is your own beloved public television station. PBS airs three weekly programs hosted by editors of the right-wing *National Review (Firing Line, The McLaughlin Group* and *One on One)*, not to mention three business programs -- but there are no weekly talk shows with a progressive host. A similar situation exists on Cable News Network, which has recently added *The Capital Gang,* hosted by the rightwinger Robert Novak. FAIR, the progressive media watchdog, is attempting to pressure the two networks to change all this. You can help by writing to PBS, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, Va 22314 or to your local station. CNN's address is 1 CNN Center, PO Box 105366, Atlanta Ga. 30348. The PBS letter is especially effective if it comes in an otherwise empty return envelope that public television swamps us with in its quest for donations.

No Dogs, Picnics or Trees
We have no idea who put up the tree and there wasn't a permit for it. Everyone appreciates the spirit, but a live tree is not an appropriate use of that park. -- *National Park Service spokesman Earl Kittleman on NPS's removal of a live Christmas tree planted in an urban park by Northwest DC residents.*


STANDUP COMEDY
IS A TRICKY BUSINESS. WHY DOES THE SAME GAG WORK FOR ONE GUY, BUT NOT FOR THE OTHER?
I CAN'T RELEASE THE DOCUMENTS NEEDED TO TRY MY STAFF -- BECAUSE OF NATIONAL SECURITY!
IT'S ALL IN THE DELIVERY
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Weather Report

For the first time, Woody Guthrie has received a musical tribute in his home town of Okemah, Oklahoma. Guthrie, composer of 'This Land is Your Land,' and other folk songs and ballads, was always a controversial figure back home. The Guthrie family home was vandalized and scratched with graffiti calling him a communist. Although Guthrie, who died in 1967, wanted to be buried in Okemah, his ashes were scattered at sea. Twenty-one years later, however, townspeople packed the local theater to hear some of Woody's 1000 songs. A local councilman, however, still plans to ask his colleagues to paint over the sign on one of the town's water towers that reads, "Home of Woody Guthrie."

A Polish Academy of Sciences report says that 12 million Poles live in pollution-ruined areas. With most Baltic sea beaches closed, industrial waste up 50% in the past five years, and most river water being undrinkable, one scientist calls Poland Europe's dirtiest country. The newspaper *Zycie Warszawy,* in a summary of the academy's report, said that there had been a complete breakdown of the state of natural balance in 27 areas in which one-third of the country's population lives.

Last April, the *Review* ran a story on the FBI's investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, an investigation that was as incompetent as it was insidious. Now, according to Freedom of Information documents obtained by the *Boston Globe,* it appears that the FBI altered the results of polygraph tests given one its former informants who had turned against the agency in congressional testimony. FBI director William Sessions told Congress that witness Frank Varelli was unreliable based on the altered results, which had originally found Varelli to be telling the truth.

The nuclear industry is not quite so popular in Austria as in the Reagan-Bush administration. The Austrian foreign minister, speaking to the International Atomic Energy Agency, had this to say: "For us the lessons from Chernobyl are clear. The Faustian bargain of nuclear energy has been lost. It is high time to leave the path pursued in the use of nuclear energy in the past, to develop new alternative and clean sources of energy supply and, during the transition period, devote all efforts to ensure maximum safety. This is the price to pay to enable life to continue on this planet."

Thanks to continuing abortion bans in Latin America, as many as 50,000 women in nations there die each year from botched operations. Despite the wide-spread ban, health experts estimate that at least ten to twelve million Latin women seek illegal abortions every year.

According to UNICEF, about 38,300 children under five die every day from hunger and disease. That's 14 million in 1987. Says UNICEF director James Grant, three million of these children died "because they didn't have 50 cents worth of vaccine in them." Meanwhile, the World Bank reports that the countries where most of these deaths occur will give the West $31.1 billion more than they receive, triple the

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amount of 1983. and up 50% from last year. It may help to put the Third World debt situation into perspective if you consider that one-twentieth of one percent of that fund might have saved three million lives.

Just politics. . .

Mark Green of the Democracy Project cites a 1985 CBS/New York Times poll that found that if a candidate was labelled a liberal he would attract 15 percent of the voters and offend 17 percent. The reaction to a candidate labelled conservative would be 27 prcent good, 13 percent bad. But the reaction to a candidate known as a progressive would be 37 percent good and only 7 percent bad.

About have the nation's daily newspapers refused to endorse any presidential candidate this year. In 1932, less than 8% failed to make an endorsement.

Dukakis, it is said, lost the popular vote in part because his politics failed to appeal to the blue-collar white male. Which raises the interesting question: why then did Dukakis capture 69% of the votes of the blue-collar white male members of the machinists' union, according to a survey of the union members? What did the union tell its members that Dukakis couldn't get across to the rest of the country?

Say good-bye to William Proxmire, who's retiring from the Senate. Proxmire, who spent less than $200 on his last successful campaign, will be remembered for, among other things, his Golden Fleece Awards, which memorialized particularly egregious examples of governmental waste. Some recipients:

- The US State Department for $400,000 worth of ocean liner trips for its employees.
- The National Science Foundation for a $84,000 study on why people fall in love.
- The US Army for spending $6000 to find the best way to buy Worcestershire sauce and $20,000 to print a brochure on how to play 'King of the Hill.'

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